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ABSTRACT

A study examined the relationship between organizational communication systems and organizational culture and between culture and two human relations-based outcomes--satisfaction and commitment. Subjects were 26 college students who were assigned positions in one of two simulated, bureaucratic organizations that functioned for four class periods. Each organization consisted of upper management, production, and supply and delivery personnel. The goal of the organizations was to make profits from the sale of a product. Each subject completed a number of questionnaires and scales to measure the various aspects of organizational culture (image, coorientation, and coordination), organizational communication, and satisfaction and commitment. General findings indicated a clear communication-culture relationship such that communication created culture. Less clear was the impact of the communication-created culture on member satisfaction and commitment. The results also suggested that communication and culture affected member satisfaction in general and direct ways, and that satisfaction served to induce member commitment to the organization. (Copies of the scales and questionnaires used in the study, along with extensive tables of data are appended.) (FL)

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AN EXPLORATORY INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURES, ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS, AND MEMBER SATISFACTION AND COMMITMENT

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to wed the organization-as-culture and traditional organizational communication perspectices so as to better understand organizational communication in its forms and functions. The relation between (1) organizational communication systems and organizational culture, and (2) culture and human relations-based outcomes (satisfaction and commitment) were explored qualitatively and quantitatively in two simulated manufacturing organizations. General findings indicated a clear communication-culture relationship such that communication creates culture. Less clear was the impact of the communication-created culture on member satisfaction and commitment. It is suggested that communication and culture affect member satisfaction in general and direct ways, and satisfaction serves to induce member commitment to the organization. Directions for future research are detailed.

The past five years has witnessed an increasing interest among organizational communicologists in viewing organizations as cultures.[1] The organization-as-culture perspective views an organization as a social collectivity which is created and sustained by communication, rather than an organization as a pre-existent structure with objective facticity within which communication occurs to achieve organizational goals (Kersten and Pickett, 1981). This view is essentially an interpretive stance that carries some methodological injunctions.

> The interpretive paradigm, on the other hand, is based on the view that the social world has a precarious ontological status, and that what passes as social reality does not exist in any concrete sense, but is the product of the subjective and inter-subjective experience of individuals. Society is understood from the standpoint of the participant in action, rather than the observer. (Morgan, 1980, 608)

If we are to understand organizations as cultures, then we, as researchers, should construe organization from the standpoint of the participant. This does not mean simply that we try to get a sense of how organizational members see the organization; rather, if "organization members impose themselves upon the world to create meaningful and sensible structure" (Morgan, 1980, 617), then we should focus on the sense-making of human actors. Ranson, et al, (1980, 5) advise emphasizing the "interpretive schemes that enable us to constitute and understand our organizational worlds as meaningful." This notion is similar to Redding's (1979) suggestion that we get away from the notion of human beings as passive, reactive people who are determined by their environment, and behave as if, as Weick notes (1969), that the meaning of stimuli (antecedents) is to be found in and a function of interpretations (consequents).

[1]

One difficulty facing organization communication is trying to integrate to the benefit of scholars and practitioners alike the traditional approaches to organizational communication with the emerging notion of organization-as-culture. The present study explores ways of examining the possible relations between these two approaches.

As part of a larger project designed to investigate organizational culture--organizational communication relationships, the present study focuses upon:

(1) assessing organizational culture as both a set of cognitive schemata and the interrelationships among them;
(2) exploring the relationships between organizational culture and typical symbolic outputs of organizations (satisfaction and commitment);
(3) examining the observable role of organizational communication in the culture-outcome relationships.

The goal of this approach is exploratory and developmental. In the exploratory vein we wish to determine the efficacy of viewing complex organizational cultures as cognitive schemas. Does such a stance illuminate beyond what we already suspect or know? Does it capture organizational "reality" in a penetrating and useful fashion? In effect, is this approach useful and understandable?

In the developmental vein we wish to carve out directions for future explorations. From the preceding exploratory analysis we should be able to sketch out paths and directions for research designed to weld together organization-as-culture and organizational communication

At its simplest level culture is a pattern of beliefs and expectations shared by the organization's members (Schwartz and Davis, 1981). These beliefs and expectations yield norms that guide the behavior of individuals within the organization. This is not dissimilar to Brown's view of organizations as paradigms--a shared way of doing things and looking at the world (Brown, 1975). More popular views stress values and value clarity (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and Waterman, Jr., 1981). Earlier we suggested that culture was more than shared expectation or clarity of expectation. Culture is the system of meanings operating for a given group at a given time that interprets a people's own situation to themselves (Pettigrew, 1979). Hence, culture can be seen as a "stance toward meaning" characteristic of a social collectivity.

Culture arises through communication (Pfeffer, 1981). Through the successive articulation of meaning in the various forms of symbols, language, ideologies, beliefs, rituals, fantasies, and myths, individuals develop ways of making sense of themselves, others, and the world around them so that, in part, collective action can take place. Hence, managerial action and leadership can be seen as attempts "to shape and interpret situations to guide organizational members into a common interpretation of reality..." (Smircich and Morgan, 1982, 261; also Pfeffer, 1981). But, we must emphasize that just as communication yields culture, culture serves to influence communication. "Man creates culture, and culture creates man" (Pettigrew, 1979, 577). As communication is the means to culture, communication will subsequently become a mode of culture.

Much of organizational communication research has emphasized the communication-as-mode perspective. A focus on questions of efficiency and effectiveness denote an assumption of culture as pre-existent. Communication is seen as an information instrument at the service of and deriving its rationale from a set of organizational goals and structures. And, indeed, this perspective is a necessary component of an attempt to understand and improve organizational communication. At the same time, it is clear that communication-as-means can add significantly to our understanding of organizational communication. The present investigation is an attempt to wed in one way the communication-as-means and the communication-as-mode perspectives. The joining of these stances involves examining typical measures of communication (type and amount) and satisfaction/commitment from the organization-as-culture perspective. Three notions guide our examination.

First, if communication is a means to culture, one would expect the possibility of greater cultural similarity among members of a more tightly interconnected communication network. Pfeffer (1981) has proposed that in a system in which beliefs are widely shared, one would expect to see an economy and similarity of language terms, and greater degrees of communication contact. We would add, however, that this would be even more so when the organizational image communicated via this network is individually compatible and practical. If so, then this common organizational image should facilitate communication contact.

Second, it would follow that while functional groups in an organization could develop cultures at odds with other groups, one would be likely to see greater compatibility among these sub-cultures when inter-group communication connectedness is high.

Third, we suggest that members of consensual cultures will demonstrate greater similarity in their views of satisfaction and commitment than will members of less consensual cultures. This argument comes in two parts. First, culture as a symbolic entity should have its most dramatic impact on so-called symbolic outcomes, such as satisfaction and commitment (Pfeffer, 1981; Pettigrew, 1979). While we are tempted to suggest, as do Peters and Waterman (1981), that consensual culture (a product of communication) effects substantive outcomes (productivity, profit, etc.), we must agree with Pfeffer (1981, 7) that symbolic activity cannot be shown empirically at this time to causally impact outcomes than those associated with members' perceptions.

Second, we do not posit that cultural similarity yields high satisfaction and commitment. What we do suggest is that a consensual culture will function to provide similar standards for and ways of viewing the bases of satisfaction and commitment as Pettigrew (1979, 577) suggests:

> Following Kanter (1972) and Buchanan (1974) commitment is defined as the willingness of participants to give energy and loyalty to an organization, to be effectively attached to its goals and values and thereby to the organization for its own sake. The role of commitment mechanisms is partly to disengage the person from some of his preexisting attachments and to redirect his system of language and beliefs and the patterning in his social relationships toward the organization's needs and purposes. In this way, a set of disparate individuals are fashioned into a collective whole.

The actuality of differing levels of satisfaction may not mean simply that some are satisfied and others are not; but rather, as Golembiewshi, et al (1975) posit, that there are differing bases for adjudging one's satisfaction and commitment. Hence, we would expect that members' estimation of their level of satisfaction and felt commitment will be a function of the ways they have to go about making sense of same. To the extent that the underlying bases of making organizational meaning are connected, there should be more connectedness in their evaluation.

In review, we intend to examine the relation between communication and satisfaction/commitment from an organization-as-culture perspective. Rather than simply viewing satisfaction and commitment as a function of communication involvement (see, for example, Roberts and O'Reilly, 1979), we propose that culture as a product of communication mediates the communication-satisfaction relationship. Viewing communication and outputs as culturally-related phenomena may enrich our view of organizational communication.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The subjects for this study were 26 juniors and seniors in an organizational communication class at a large midwestern university. Students were assigned positions in one of two simulated, bureaucratic organizations[2] that functioned for four one and one-half hour class periods. Each organization consisted of upper management (president and vice-presidents), production, and supply & delivery.
The goal of both organizations was to make profit in the sale of firework models. The two organizations (Hi-Fli and Shootem-Up) were in competition to see who could make the highest profit. Both organi-

zations worked during the same time period, obtained supplies from the same source, and sold products to the same buyer.

Two organizations running simultaneously enabled the researchers to obtain data about the culture, communication, satisfaction, and commitment of the two organizations; perform correlational analyses among measures of these constructs within each organization; and contrast the resulting descriptions.

OPERATIONALIZING CULTURE

The notion of organizational culture, like the notion of culture itself, has no single agreed upon meaning (Smircich, 1981). Hence, while the concept of culture has been linked more and more often with the study of organizational communication, there is little operational convergence on how to describe or index culture. To avoid further divergence, we employed a constructivist/rules approach to describing culture employed previously (Harris and Cronen, 1979; Wacker, 1981).

Harris and Cronen (1979, 13) propose that culture be seen as a "master contract."

> The master contract includes the organization's self-definition consisting of unique constructs for identifying the collectivity as well as particular beliefs and goals that define who "we" are. The master contract also includes constitutive and regulative rules that organize beliefs and actions in light of that image.

Hence, culture might be described as images, degrees of coorientation on constitutive rules, and degrees of coordination derived from regulative rules. The first element, image, is similar to Wacker's notion of "cognitive infrastructure" (1981) -- the constructs most members use to make sense of events. The second element, coorientation,

is the extent to which members agree with and accurately perceive the positions of others regarding the actual and ideal states of the organization which are grounded in the constructs that comprise the organizational image. The third element, coordination, is the system of regulative rules, derived from elements of the organizational image, that guide members' behavior.

Image. A questionnaire was administered to each member of both organizations. In the questionnaire members were asked the following questions to determine the constructs they used to make sense of their organization:

1. What in your opinion makes your organization unique among organizations similar to it?
2. In what ways is it similar to other organizations?
3. How would you describe your organization when it is at its very best?
4. How would you describe your organization when it is at its worst?

Subjects were instructed to record their answers on the lefthand side of the form so as to make the names terms one pole of a dichotomous pair. Then subjects were instructed to go back to each construct they had listed and record on the righthand side of the page what, in their opinion, was the opposite of each construct they had listed. Finally, subjects were asked to rate the importance of each pair of terms for defining their organization (1=not at all important, 10=extremely important).

Categories of functionally equivalent constructs were established independently by the researchers. Of the 129 constructs generated by members of Hi-Fli, 108, or 84%, were organized into 16 categories with 89% degree of agreement. Of the 202 constructs generated by members of Shootem-Up, 162, or 81%, were organized into 15 categories with 83% degree of agreement. Only those constructs mentioned by more

than half of the members of each organization (7 of 13) were included for analysis in subsequent phases of the project. None of these final constructs had an importance rating of less than 7.0. This procedure yielded six constructs for each organization (see Tables 1 & 2).

Place Tables 1 & 2 about here

Coorientation. Each of the six constructs for each organization was converted into a nine-point scale bounded by the polar adjectives generated by subjects as outlined above. In a subsequent questionnaire organizational members make for judgments about each construct as noted below:

Organized ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Unorganized

1. Indicate the space that best represents what you personally believe to be the ideal of your organization.
2. Indicate the space that best represents what you believe most others in your organization believe to be the ideal of your organization.
3. Indicate the space that best represents what you personally consider to be the actual state of your organization.
4. Indicate the space that best represents what you believe most others in your organization believe to be the actual state of your organization.

This procedure yielded four ratings for each construct within the organizational image (see Tables 3 & 4).

Coordination. The six constructs for each organization were presented to the members of the respective organizations as the polar adjectives on a nine-point scale. Members were instructed to assume each space represented a possible range of behavior between the two poles of the construct. They were to mark each scale position with either an "A" to represent "acceptable" behavior, a "U" to represent "unacceptable" behavior, or to leave the space blank indicating that the behavior was neither acceptable nor unacceptable. This procedure yielded a description of the ranges of Acceptable, Unacceptable, or

Residual/Ambiguous behaviors for each construct within each organization (see Tables 5 & 6).

In addition to Image, Coorientation and Coordination, members of both organizations were requested to keep a daily log on a number of issues. Relevant to the notion of organizational culture are (1) language parsimony (Pfeffer, 1981) and (2) fantasy themes (Borman, 1975; 1981). Organizational members reported daily on the language terms that were used to describe their organization (see Tables 7 & 8). Likewise they also reported daily instances of fantasizing (see Table 9). It was possible to identify the reporters and participants in each of these cases.

OPERATIONALIZING COMMUNICATION

Organizational communication researchers interested in culture have relied primarily on qualitative methods for assessing communication. Both quantitative and qualitative means of data acquisition were used in this study allowing statistical as well as "grounded" qualitative examination of differences between the two organizations.

A questionnaire administered at the end of the simulation obtained a quantitative assessment of communication. Respondents indicated the extent to which they communicated with every other person in their organization and the percentage of communication devoted to production, social interaction, and innovation (see Questionnaire 1). Total amount of communication was derived by summing dyadic scores (e.g., Member 1 with Member 2 = Member 1's self-reported communication with #2 plus Member 2's self-reported communication with #1). Amount of communication devoted to production, social interaction, and innovation was calculated by multiplying the percentage of each with the extent of communication with each individual.

Qualitative data were obtained by examination of written memos and tape recordings of organizational meetings. Group members were told to orally communicate only with members of their work group, immediate superior, immediate subordinates, and organizational members at the same hierarchical level. All other communication to other organizational members was to be by memo. These organizational memos were collected at the end of each day of the simulation. A tape recording was made of the first and only full meeting of each organization at the beginning of the simulation.

OPERATIONALIZING SATISFACTION AND COMMITMENT

Measures of satisfaction and commitment were obtained immediately at the end of the simulation before results of productivity for each organization were announced. Eight items assessed satisfaction with supervisor, productivity, input, position, the simulation, and co-worker's contributions (see Questionnaire 2). Respondents rated satisfaction on a ten point scale from "Dissatisfied" to "Satisfied." Six items assessed personal commitment. Subjects indicated the extent to which they felt committeed to their organization, position, work group, and high productivity on a ten point scale from "Low Commitment" to "High Commitment." Respondents were also asked to indicate on a ten point scale from "Very Unlikely" to "Very Likely" the extent to which they would want to belong to the same organization and work group if they were to do the exercise again.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

The initial approach to managing the data collected was comprised of two steps. First statistical descriptions of culture, communication, and satisfaction/commitment were compiled (e.g., means and standard deviations). Second, the structure or maps associated with

each of culture, communication, and satisfaction/commitment were constructed. Elementary linkage analysis (McQuitty, 1957) was used to show relationships among items. Use of this technique yielded correlagrams which show how items clustered for each organization. The technique yields results very similar to, and in some cases, exactly like rotated factor-analytic solutions. The correlagram technique is similar in intent to causal mapping, (Bougon, Weick, Binkhorst, 1977), but does not intend to, nor presume causal relationships.

Based upon these two steps, the remaining exploratory investigations were pointed towards examining the relations among the underlying maps of culture, communication, and output using the additional qualitative data gathered within each organization(memos, terms, fantasies, meeting recordings).

FINDINGS

The findings will be organized into three groups: culture, communication, and satisfaction/commitment.

CULTURE

The findings about culture are divided into four sections: coorientation, coordination, terms, and fantasies.

In relation to coorientation (see Tables 3 & 4) three results are noteworthy. First, the two organizations shared a number of similar constructs. In essence the first four constructs for each organization are similar. Members reported that their sense - making of themselves and their organization would be along the lines of (1) organization, (2) productivity, (3) motivation, and (4) loyalty/seeking the organization's goals. The remaining two constructs

are quite different. Hi-Fli included Good-Poor Communication and a dimension of Fun/Exciting/Happy---Not Fun/Boring/Unhappy. Shootem-Up included Efficient---Inefficient and Honest-Dishonest. The differences suggest both a process dimension (communication and efficiency) and a value dimension (fun and honesty). The similarities underscore what might be a "generic" set of sense-making dimensions common to undergraduates in their attempt to give significant meaning to organized activity.

Second, ideal states were more positive than actual states both for what members themselves believe and for what members think others believe. There were only two exceptions. In the Shootem-Up organization, members reported that the ideal state for Desire To Win --- Could Care Less had been achieved actually. In the Hi-Fli organization members reported that they thought others believed that the ideal state for Seeks Organization Goals --- Seeks Personal Goals had been achieved actually.

Third, the members of Shootem-Up reported actual states closer to ideal states than did members of the Hi-Fli organization (SU $\bar{X}$ difference = 1.6, HF $\bar{X}$ difference = 2.6). Hence, as Schwartz and Davis (1981) suggest in their discussion of culture and climate, members' cultural expectations were being fulfilled more in Shootem-Up than in Hi-Fli.

In relation to coordination (see Tables 5 & 6) the striking difference is in the amount of residual in the reported rules for behavior as acceptable, unacceptable, or residual (neither acceptable nor unacceptable); 76% of the behavioral area was clearly prescribed (32%) or proscribed (44%) for Hi-Fli; for Shootem-Up only 44% was prescribed (20%) or proscribed (24%). The large domain of behavioral

residual latitude for Shootem-Up (56%) and smaller domain for Hi-Fli (24%) coupled with the results noted above, suggests that the Shootem-Up organization operated with a greater range of behavioral latitude than did Hi-Fli. Harris and Cronen suggest (1979, 27) that organizational functioning may be facilitated by the presence of behavioral choice (especially in adapting innovatively to new and changing conditions), unimpeded by a narrowly defined set of prescriptive rules and a widely defined set of proscriptive rules (as is the case with Hi-Fli).

At this point the two organizations evidence differing cultures. While members in each organization appear to agree and be aware of their agreement about actual and ideal states, Shootem-Up's actual states as compared to Hi-Fli's are closer to their ideal states; and Shootem-Up possesses greater behavioral flexibility in achieving those ideal states.

When one examines the relational maps underlying the cultural constructs, three important additional differences can be noted (see Figure 1). First, there is a tight web of association among ideal states for Shootem-Up; a very loose set of relationships for Hi-Fli. For Shootem-Up the ideals of Organized, Efficient, Productive, Loyal, and Desire-to-Win are joined closely into almost one ideal image. For Hi-Fli Organized, Fun, Seeks Organization Goals, Motivated, and Good Communication are loosely attached.

Second, actual states are interrelated for Shootem-Up, while there is little coherent association in Hi-Fli. This suggests that for Shootem-Up not only is there cultural coherency for ideal states, but a similar, albeit less strong coherency for views of actual states.

Third, while actual states appear to be unrelated to ideal states in terms of underlying structure for Shootem-Up, there are noticeable disassociative relationships between ideal and actual for Hi-Fli. The personal ideal for Seeks Organization Goals is related negatively to the personal actual state of Productive. It is as if members of Hi-Fli have reported that as we strive to reach the ideal of seeking organizational goals we become less productive. While this seems antithetical to the notion of productivity as an organizational goal, it may be that members are dealing with a notion or organizational goal that in its day-to-day nature is at odds with being productive. As noted below there was a sense of a lack of a truly organizational goal in Hi-Fli. Members may have sensed the absence of a consensual goal and substituted individual goals in this equation. Hence, reversing the relational logic advanced earlier, the more one seeks personal goals the more productive the organization actually becomes. The other instance of a negative relation is between personal ideals of Organized and what members believe think others believe to be the actual state of Good Communication. Here again common sense seems assaulted. However, it may well be, as discussed below, that members of Hi-Fli saw themselves as trying to communicate well, yet not succeeding ($\bar{X}$ rating of what members think others believe the actual state of Good Communication = 5.2). They also saw themselves as Unorganized ($\bar{X}$ = 4.9). Hence, members' view of Hi-Fli's "brand" of good communication was seen as unrelated to organized.

In relation to terms used to describe the organization the two organizations differed (see Tables 7 & 8). While both organizations evidenced a movement from a mix of negative and neutral terms on

day one to neutral and positive terms on day four, Shootem-Up evidenced a greater degree of parsimony and convergence across time. On day one members of Shootem-Up reported thirteen different terms mentioned by nine different members; on day four nine different members reported seven different terms with one noted by six different members from all three functional groups. On the other hand, Hi-Fli began with five different terms reported by seven different members; and ended with seven different terms reported by six different members. Not only was there greater convergence in Shootem-Up, but the one term mentioned by members of all three functional groups was potent and positive -- "Winners -- #1." Both Wiginton (1979) and Pfeffer (1981) suggest that such a movement and state are reflective of the development of a consensual culture.

In relation to fantasies, members of Hi-Fli reported more instances of fantasizing than did members of Shootem-Up (see Table 9). While this runs contrary to what one might expect (e.g., the case being made points toward Shootem-Up as possessing a more cohesive, consensual, and centripetal culture, hence, according to Borman [1975, 1981], more, not less, likely to engage in fantasy themes), two explanations are possible. First, the notion of fantasy may have been difficult to operationalize by organizational members on a self-report basis day-to-day. Thus, the observable differences may be meaningless, or at least sufficiently ambiguous so as to militate against a meaningful interpretation. However, second, it may be that the absence of a consensual set of cultural constructs in Hi-Fli left a "sense-making" vacuum that members naturally attempted to fill on their own. This appears sensible in light of two additional observations.

Note that all reported fantasizing occurred within only one functional group, Production. As shall be reported below this was the unit in Hi-Fli least connected to the rest of the organization. What the fantasizing may reveal is the effort of an intact group to develop a coherent image of itself and what is was doing in the absence of an organizationally shared paradigm. Second, most of the fantasizing had the patina of humanizing the work of the unit. Anthropomorphizing the product into a human (woman's) body may have been an avenue for finding human meaning in a task for which little other meaning had been created or communicated. In light of Shootem-Up's rather solitary straightforward joking about relieving job pressures (when, as discussed below, Shootem-Up was highly interconnected with a centripetal culture), this last explanation for Hi-Fli's fantasizing takes on additional plausibility.

In summary, the cultures of the two organizations appear to differ in some significant ways:

> (1) Shootem-Up's actual states were closer to ideal states than Hi-Fli's;
> (2) Shootem-Up's culture possessed greater behavioral latitude/flexibility than Hi-Fli's;
> (3) Shootem-Up's culture appears to be more cohesive and tight regarding ideal images than the loosely connected and disassociative culture of Hi-Fli;
> (4) Shootem-Up's reports on terms used to describe the culture show greater economy and convergence across time than do those reported by members of Hi-Fli; and
> (5) there is more fantasizing in Hi-Fli than in Shootem-Up, and it is all located in a group that is most isolated in the organization.

COMMUNICATION

The findings about communication are divided into two sections: experience framing and the communication network. The overall

picture one gets of the two organizations is quite different. Shootem-Up appears to be strongly interconnected and possessing a collective frame for making sense of their experience. On the other hand, Hi-Fli is less interconnected and begins its life sans a collective interpretive scheme.

Experience framing refers to the attempts to "shape and interpret situations to guide organizational members into a common interpretation of reality" (Smircich & Morgan, 1982, 261). The findings here are derived from the transcripts of the initial "organizing" meetings of each organization and the written memos generated throughout the life of the organization. The stance we used in making sense of this farrago of data is suggested by Smircich and Morgan (1982, 260) in their discussion of leadership as the management of meaning in which they assert that critical to collective action is a framing of experience in such a way as to imbue individual interpretation and action with a collectively sensible meaning:

> . . .bridging the gulf between the requirements of institutionalized structure and the natural inclinations of its human agents. . . . the interpersonal process linking structure and the human beings who inhabit this structure. . . .[rising] above and beyond the specification of formal structure to provide members of the organization with a sense that they are organized even amidst an everyday feeling that at a detailed level everything runs the danger of falling apart.

Hence, we will emphasize: (1) the establishment of symbolic and/or empirical goals, (2) the development of a sense of collectivity, and (3) the extent to which structure is seen as pliant or rigid.

In relation to goals, Shootem-Up evidenced a significantly greater tendency to develop and foster a notion of collective goal than did Hi-Fli. There was no discussion of goals of any type in Hi-Fli's

initial session. In fact, there was a sense of individual action divorced from collective action. The President (#1) began the session with "What I am doing here?", followed closely by "This is bizzare." In response to a question from one member about what the President does, the President responds, "I sign the checks." This same notion of separateness is continued in memos of which the following response from the President to a memo from supervisors saying, "We're hungry. Need Compensation.", is exemplary:

> It breaks my heart to hear that you're hungry. But, if you don't produce fireworks, we don't get a profit. And with no profits, you don't get paid. So get your rearends in gear so I don't have to write any more memos and miss my 3 p.m. tee-off time.

Perhaps some of the frustration experienced by members of Hi-Fli is reflected in the following memo exchange:

> TO: Managers
> FROM: President/Hi-Fli
>
> The Board of Directors says "Time is $." Let's increase production.

> TO: President
> FROM: Manager of Supply
>
> We are completing all orders as fast as we get parts from TCI. TCI is continually behind in our orders, shorting us parts, and difficult to work with -- according to the two people who have the authority to see him. Give us the tools and we will do the job.

There is a sense of an attempt to compensate for the lack of collective goals by performing known functions industriously.

In Shootem-Up there is a different picture presented. In their initial organizing session the President and the Manager of Production engaged in this exchange:

> President: Now, you must remember . . . We're here to win. I am doubling every quarter he's the instructor got. How about them Hawks!

Manager of Production: You coach, you.
President: When it gets down there in the trenches, fourth and one, I know what to do . . . This is a bigtime meeting, like in those corporation. Where's the coffee and donuts? (laughter)
Manager of Production: What is the management position on goals? Do you have a set goal per day that you want to pass down to us? I know you have the ultimate goal of winning . . . the pot of gold.
President: We want to do as many fireworks as we can. Use the parts we have got and go back for some more. We will see how it goes. We will be winners -- #1.

This same flavor is continued in memos throughout the four days:

We have set a goal of twenty fireworks to be made. The more the merrier. Let's go!

Everything is going great. TCI informed me that one of our products had a defect. Please double check our fireworks. He said it cost us some money. We are doing great . . . Keep it up!

Tomorrow is an employee holiday. No work. (but you will be paid) Long weekend. Let's keep production moving.

WIN! WIN! WIN! WIN! WIN!
A prize of $$$$$ will be given to the top employee of the past two weeks to be chosen by the President. SO LET'S PRODUCE!!!

However ambiguous these attempts at goal creation and clarification may appear, there is clearly an effort to put into place a symbolic image (successful team, fourth and one, winners -- #1) along with an empirical gauge (20 fireworks) that could form a collective "glue."

Second, there were differences in efforts to form a sense of a collective whole based upon knowledge of roles and responsibilities. In Hi-Fli there was no introduction of members, their names or roles/functions. In fact, it was only after about seven minutes that the President said, "Everybody split up now." This had the effect of underscoring group memberships (upper management, production supply and delivery) with little inteiligence about connectedness or relatedness.

In Shootem-Up the President, after announcing that the purpose of the initial session was "organizing," introduced each person by name, describing briefly their function and lines of contact/report. The whole organization stayed together as a totality for over twenty minutes. There was much questioning and exchange among the members during this time -- clarifying relatedness both in terms of communication and function. Hence, members of Shootem-Up emerged from this session probably with a better sense of the overall structure and process of the organization than did members of Hi-Fli.

Third, the organizations differed in relation to whether structural rules (or rules implicit in structure) were pliant or rigid. Within the first two minutes of Hi-Fli's session the President said, "I can only talk to three people -- my vice-presidents of production, personnel, supply. So what I got to find out is what what all you other people are doing under me. I don't know what in the world is going on . . . " The President then addressed one question to the Vice-President of Production, followed shortly by the directive to break into the functional groups. The sense garnered here may be that the rules are the rules, and shall be followed. There was no discussion of how one can change the rules, or even what latitudes of action the rules allowed.

On the other hand, Shootem-Up spent considerable time discussing explicitly what the communication and structural rules allowed, how they could be changed, and also how information and suggestions for "new ways of doing things" could be transmitted within the organization. There is a sense here of exerting influence over the environment that did not exist in Hi-Fli.

In summary, Shootem-Up had some sense of collectivity, some shared symbolic and empirical goals, and a sense that the structure of the organization was pliable -- could be changed by the members themselves. Hi-Fli, on the other hand, had a sense of group location, little goal sharedness, and an impression of structurally-derived rule superordinancy. Perhaps the two organizations could best be typified by the last remark made by each President as they ended their initial session and moved into the activity:

Shootem-Up: Now is the time . . . Let's do it.
Hi-Fli: It's time to go.

The overall communication network for each organization is displayed in Figure 2. The distribution of communication by type and by group are displayed in Tables 10 and 11. The results will be discussed in terms of connectedness and communication type.

Examining Figure 2 it is readily apparent that Shootem-Up is more interconnected than Hi-Fli. There are many more connections across group lines in Shootem-Up than in Hi-Fli. In Shootem-Up member #6 (Manager of Production) functions as a bridge between production and supply & delivery. However, there also are a goodly number of links among upper management and both of the operational areas. In Hi-Fli member #3 (VP of Personnel) occupies the bridge linking supply & delivery and production; but there are considerably fewer direct links between upper management and either of the operational groups. Recall that a similar pattern of more versus less connectedness also was apparent in the correlagram of the relationships (see Figure 1) among the cognitive components of culture for each organization.

Second, in relation to type of communication (see Tables 10 & 11), both organizations appear relatively similar in terms of communication devoted to production, innovation, and socializing. However, when one examines how each group spent its communication time, some meaningful differences do appear. First, for upper management, Hi-Fli spent more time in production oriented messages than Shootem-Up; while Shootem-Up spent more time in innovation than did Hi-Fli. Second, for the production staff Shootem-Up spent more time in production than did Hi-Fli; while for innovation Hi-Fli spent more time than did Shootem-Up. These results are interesting by their contrast. For Shootem-Up the production group was the least involved in innovation and the most involved in production. For Hi-Fli the production group was the least involved in production, and the most involved in innovation. Additional analyses revealed that the innovation network for Shootem-Up was interconnected throughout the organization, while Hi-Fli's innovation network was centered in production. Given the production group's relative isolation in Hi-Fli both in terms of function and communication, it is not surprising to recall that this was the group to report the fantasizing noted earlier. Their focus on new ways of doing things, coupled with their fantasy activity, may indicate an effort to create a meaningful reality on their own within their own group. This same picture of isolation and intra-group connectedness is apparent again when social communication is observed (see Figure 3). The Shootem-Up social network is extensive and interconnected. The Hi-Fli social network is more dispersed, with a strong sub-group comprised of the members of the production area. Subsequent analyses of the relationship between organizational culture (cognitive elements) and communication patterns revealed only that:

(1) social communication correlated positively with ideal and actual states for Shootem-Up, while no relation was found for Hi-Fli; and (2) that communication with the President and VP-Production was positively related to Self-Ideal and Actual images for Shootem-Up, and negatively correlated for Hi-Fli.

In brief summary, Shootem-Up shows an interconnected pattern of communication relationships that relates to their images of the organization. Hi-Fli, on the other hand, shows less connectedness, more groupness, particularly for the production area, and communication with upper management is negatively related to their images of the organization.

SATISFACTION AND COMMITMENT

The average levels of satisfaction and commitment for each organization and each functional group within each organization and reported in Table 12. The results will be organized into four areas: (1) the levels of satisfaction and commitment within and across each organization; (2) the underlying pattern of relationships among the satisfaction and commitment items for each organization; (3) the relationships between communication and satisfaction and commitment; and (4) the relationship between organizational culture and satisfaction and commitment. We are guided in this examination by Pettigrew's (1979) notion (cited earlier) that satisfaction items may be seen as commitment-producing mechanisms that function to direct the individual toward the organization. We would add also that organizational images may be related to reported levels of satisfaction and commitment. Recall (see Tables 3 & 4) that while both organizations reported high personal ideal states in relation to the cognitive elements

comprising their culture, it was Shootem-Up whose actual states came closest to fitting ideal states. This compatibility between ideal and actual states, and its relation to satisfaction and commitment, will be examined below.

First, the levels of satisfaction and commitment were not significantly different from one organization to another (based upon a t-test for independent samples). However, there are some similarities and differences between the organizations of note. In the following discussion we will use a decision rule of low satisfaction/commitment as any mean below 6.00, and a similar decision rule definition of a high level as above 8.00. Both organizations reported low satisfaction with input to decisions (item #4). However, Shootem-Up reported high commitment to (1) their group within the organization (item #11), (2) the goal of high productivity (item #12), and (3) joining the same organization (item #13).

In terms of the functional sub-groups within the organizations, we will first focus on Upper Management. There were no low levels of satisfaction and commitment for Shootem-Up, while Hi-Fli's upper management was dissatisfied with their organization's productivity. On the other hand, both sets of upper management reported high satisfaction with their positions within the organization (item #5), with corresponding high commitment to their position (item #10) and the goal of high productivity (item #12). In addition, Shootem-Up's upper management were highly satisfied with their interaction with co-workers (item #6) and their co-workers' contribution to the organization's productivity (item #8). Along with that, they also reported being strongly committed to their organization (item #9), their work group (item #11), and to joining the same organization again (item #13).

For Supply and Delivery, the groups in both organizations were similar. Both reported low satisfaction with their input into decisions (item #4) and with their position in the organization (item #5). Neither group reported high levels of either satisfaction or commitment.

For Production groups the two organizations differed. This group in Shootem-Up reported dissatisfaction with their input into decisions (item #4), while the group in Hi-Fli reported no low levels of satisfaction. On the other hand, both groups reported high levels of commitment to their work group (item #11), high productivity (item #12), and to joining the same organization again (item #13). In addition, the members of Hi-Fli's production unit were highly satisfied with their interaction with co-workers (item #6), while Shootem-Up's production workers were highly committed to their position in the organization (item #10).

Overall, both organizations were desirous of more input into decisions. Shootem-Up, however, was more committed than Hi-Fli to their work groups, to high productivity, and to joining the same organization again. Upper management in both organizations liked their positions and were committed to high productivity. Shootem-Up's upper management expressed high satisfaction with their interaction with co-workers and co-worker contributions, and were also strongly committed to their organization. Supply and Delivery in both organizations wanted more input into decisions, and tended not to like their positions in the organization. Production workers for both organizations were committed to their work groups, their organization, and high productivity. Hi-Fli's workers were particularly satisfied with their interaction in the group, while

Shootem-Up's workers were highly committed to the positions involved in production.

While these indices are descriptive, we also want to examine the underlying pattern of relationships among the items that comprised the measures of satisfaction and commitment. These relationships are displayed as a correlagram in Figure 4. Notice again the relatively "tight" pattern for Shootem-Up and the conversely "loose" pattern for Hi-Fli. This same type of pattern has been noted for both culture (Figure 1) and communication networks (Figure 2). As this overall pattern and its similarity to other patterns is striking, we shall examine also (1) the relationships among satisfaction items (#1 - #8), (2) commitment (#9 - #14), and (3) relationships between satisfaction and commitment.

For Shootem-Up satisfaction with one's own productivity, the organization's productivity, and one's position in the organization was highly related to satisfaction with one's input into decisions, interaction with co-workers, and co-workers' contributions to the work effort. These last three items were also highly related to each other. For Hi-Fli, satisfaction with one's own productivity was most highly related to interaction with co-workers and co-workers' contribution to the work effort. Satisfaction with the organization's productivity was related to co-workers' contributions.

In terms of commitment, Shootem-Up's commitment to their organization, their position, their work group, and high productivity were all highly interrelated. On the other hand, Hi-Fli's members demonstrated only two relatively high correlations among commitment items. First, commitment to high productivity was related to commitment

to their work group. Second, their commitment to joining the same organization was related to their commitment to their organization and their work group.

In terms of satisfaction items as possible commitment-producing mechanisms, the relations between satisfaction items and levels of commitment are of interest. For Hi-Fli four such relationships are described. First, commitment to high productivity is highly related to one's satisfaction with individual productivity, one's position in the organization, and inputs into decisions. Second, commitment to the organization is highly related to satisfaction with inputs into decisions, one's supervisor, and co-workers' contributions to the work effort. Third, one's commitment to their work group and to their position is highly related to one's satisfaction with their position in the organization.

For Shootem-Up four such satisfaction-commitment relationships are evident. Commitment to high productivity is related to satisfaction with position in the organization and co-workers' contributions to the work effort. Commitment to the organization is related to satisfaction with their position, their own productivity, and interaction with co-workers. Commitment to their group is related to satisfaction with position, interaction with co-workers, and co-workers' contribution to the work effort. Finally, commitment to their position in the organization is related to satisfaction with that position.

Hence, commitment to Shootem-Up and its goal of high productivity is related to satisfaction with position, productivity, and interaction with co-workers who are making a contribution to that goal. In Hi-Fli that same commitment to the organization and its

goal of high productivity is related to satisfaction with one's position, productivity, and input into decisions, in addition to others' contributions and one's supervisor. Commitment to group is related to satisfaction with their position in Hi-Fli; in Shootem-Up commitment to work group is related to one's position and interaction with co-workers who are making contributions to the work effort in Shootem-Up. While these individual patterns are noteworthy, one cannot overlook that overall pattern noted above. The set of items that comprised the measures of satisfaction and commitment are more tightly related for Shootem-Up (average r = +.573) than for Hi-Fli (average r = +.379). Figure 3 graphically shows this difference.

The relationship between each organization's communication and their reported levels of satisfaction and commitment were examined in a subsequent correlational analysis. While the results are not conclusive, four general directions were noted. First, the overall amount of total communication was related positively to satisfaction in Shootem-Up, but unrelated to satisfaction in Hi-Fli. Second, communication about innovation was related positively to satisfaction in Shootem-Up, but negatively related to satisfaction in Hi-Fli. Third, production communication correlated positively with satisfaction and commitment in Shootem-Up, but correlated negatively with satisfaction and commitment in Hi-Fli. Fourth, social communication correlates more positively with satisfaction and commitment in Hi-Fli than in Shootem-Up (although the relationship is still positive).

The relationship between organizational culture and levels of satisfaction and commitment were examined also in a subsequent

correlational analysis. Again, results are not conclusive, but are still suggestive. In terms of satisfaction, there was a strong positive convergence between personal ideal images in Shootem-Up and general levels of satisfaction; in Hi-Fli this relationship was negative. The sense of having achieved (or come close to achieving) ideal states in Shootem-Up, but not in Hi-Fli is pertinent here. Actual states showed the same, albeit not as strong, relationship in Shootem-Up, while actual states were unrelated on the whole to satisfaction in Hi-Fli. In terms of commitment, perceptions of self and others' ideal and actual states appeared unrelated in Shootem-Up and Hi-Fli. This would seem to underscore Pettigrew's argument (1979) that cultural components have their impact in terms of satisfaction, while satisfaction tends to influence commitment.

In summary, the two organizations did not appear to differ significantly in their reported levels of satisfaction and commitment. However, closer examination from an organization-as-culture perspective suggests that Shootem-Up shared a more tightly cohesive view of and approach to the factors that comprised satisfaction and commitment than did the members of Hi-Fli. We have suggested that this "picture" is related to elements of culture and communication such that in Shootem-Up, as compared to Hi-Fli, a more collectively shared set of sense-making schemata infused the members of the organization through a communication system characterized by high connectedness and interrelatedness.

DISSCUSSION

The foregoing presentation of results presents a differentiated and perhaps scattered view of the two organizations. The following discussion will attempt to collapse the data into some wholistically

meaningful categories based upon the exploratory questions posed earlier. Given the nature of the data and the purpose of exploratory investigations, we will focus upon broad and suggestive directions, noting where appropriate lines of future research and related pitfalls in the effort lie.

We began this investigation by posing questions about the relationships between (1) communication and organizational culture, and (2) the communication-culture link and satisfaction/commitment. We will organize our discussion in terms of these two questions.

COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

The most striking aspect of the communication-culture relation is the similarity between cultural maps (see Figure 1) and communication networks (see Figure 2 and 3). There is a parrallel "tightness" between the two for Shootem-Up, and a parrallel "dispersion" for Hi-Fli. This visual feature supports the type of relationship we had postulated; communication is the means to culture such that a consensual culture is closely associated with an interconnected communication network (Pfeffer, 1981). There is related evidence to underscore this proposition.

We had suggested that groups would have similar cultures if group interconnectedness was strong. To further investigate this communication-culture relationship, we mapped the cultures of the individual subgroups in each organization (upper management, supply & delivery, production). If our postulate was correct, we would expect to see similar structures among cognitive cultural elements in groups that were connected strongly in the communication network. We will restrict our analysis to what members themselves believe to be the Ideal and Actual states of their organization (results for what members thought others believed to be Ideal and Actual states are displayed in Figures 9-12, but are not discussed). Note that we have characterized the three groups in

Shootem-Up as highly connected; while in Hi-Fli the production unit was isolated from upper management and supply & delivery.

Figures 5 and 6 display respectively the cultural maps for personal Ideal states for Shootem-Up and Hi-Fli. Note the apparent differences. In Shootem-Up, even though upper management data is not displayed, the apparent similarity is evident in the elements and their relationships between production and supply & delivery. The same elements stand in approximately the same relationship to each other. On the other hand, the picture in Hi-Fli is different. Upper management has a very cohesive map of ideal states that is partially reproduced in supply & delivery. The differences become magnified when production's map is added. There is simply less similarity in cultural maps throughout the groups in Hi-Fli as compared to Shootem-Up.

The same picture holds when actual states are subjected to this analysis (see Figures 7 and 8). Again note the relative similarity among the Shootem-Up groups. In Hi-Fli the groups differ dramatically, even to the extent of including different negative relations among some elements. It is also interesting to note, in light of the fact that Shootem-Up reported actualizing ideal states moreso than Hi-Fli, the relationship between ideal and actual maps within each organization. The two states bear a much closer semblance in Shootem-Up, while there is an almost boggling dissimilarity between ideal and actual maps in Hi-Fli.

While these structural comparisons are confirming of the notion that communication creates culture, one also needs to consider communication in a non-structural sense (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982). There was in Shootem-Up, constituted through its

initial session and subsequent memos, a sense of collectivity bound together in clear and positive images, terms, and goals. Such was not the case in Hi-Fli. And this collective sense, similar to Cheney's (1983) "identification" and Boje et. al. (1982) notion of "myth," had both a tight and loose quality about it, much akin to Peters' (1978) characteristics of an effective dominating organizational value. The tightness is reflected in the convergence of terms in Shootem-Up to "Winners -- We are #1." The looseness is to be seen in the degree of behavioral latitude in rules that guided action (see Tables 5 & 6). Hence, cultural schemata were available to guide members toward a common interpretation of reality (Smircich and Morgan, 1982) without unduly constricting individual action. In fact, the lack of such a consensually shared guiding image, etc. in Hi-Fli is related to the fantasizing activity in the production group. Disconnected and rudderless in terms of meaning, these workers sought to create meaning not only by adding interpretations to ambiguous messages (Putnam and Sorenson, 1982), but also by trying to create an image that would lend meaning to their organizationally ordained behavior.

Hence, we are strengthened in our notion that communication and organizational culture stand in a becoming-being relationship. The arising of shared sense-making schema is accomplished through human talk and a pattern of relationships (Pfeffer, 1982) that comprise the communication network.

COMMUNICATION-CULTURE AND SATISFACTION/COMMITMENT

Does organizational culture, created through communication, affect organizational outcomes? Many would have us believe that it does (for example, see Peters and Waterman, 1981). We believe the connection is there, both in a general and a specific way.

On a general level, satisfaction may be affected by a sense of having achieved ideal states in actual practice. This assertion, while sensible, is not supported by the data on satisfaction (see Table 12). However, the picture painted by the underlying structure of satisfaction and commitment correlations (see Figure 4) is again similar to the maps for communication and culture for each organization. The tight, centripetal map for Shootem-Up and the loose, centrifugal map for Hi-Fli is consistent across communication, culture, and satisfaction/commitment. This is an indication that culture may impact the ways in which organizational members go about making sense of their "satisfaction."

The specific impact of culture on satisfaction and commitment underscores Pettigrew's (1979) notion of commitment-producing mechanisms. In brief, culture appears most closely associated with satisfaction which, in turn, appears to affect commitment. Now, it would be trite to simply suggest that one is committed to an organization because they are satisfied with the aspects of membership in that organization. What may be going on is a touch more complicated. Members of Shootem-Up were more committed to their work group, the goal of high productivity, and more inclined to join the same organization than members of Hi-Fli. It is also the case that members' perceptions of ideal and actual states were related positively to satisfaction items for Shootem-Up, but negatively related for Hi-Fli. For both organizations there was a neutral relation between culture and commitment. In this light it may well be that one <u>is</u> committed because they are satisfied; but, more importantly, one may be satisfied because satisfaction was "sensible." Satisfaction is sensible in that it has meaning that is grounded in consensually shared cultural constructs which elicits positive response. Put another way, we have all had the experience of being

satisfied with our behavior and performances, but did not feel committed to the organization of which we were a member and in which our behavior occurred. On other occasions our satisfaction was impelled by the "knowing" that our actions had meaning and value in a larger sense, or scheme; we felt joined with others.Cultural ennui can be both personally draining and functionally debilitating. Participating in a consensual culture may lend significant import to satisfaction and, hence, to one's commitment.

Obviously, the culture-outcome connection is tentative and not at all clear. Yet, there is some support for the notion of consensual culture affecting satisfaction and commitment. There is much clearer support in this report for the communication-culture relationship.

CONCLUSION

We would suggest six areas for future research in this vein. These suggestions also point out the shortcomings of the present effort.

First, if communication is the "means" of culture, it also is the "mode" of culture; that is, how culture is created will affect how communication can/will function to reconstruct culture. The what of culture may constrain its ability to change (for example, see Argyris's discussion of single-loop and double-loop learning 1980; 1982). One avenue of relevance that is mainstream to the discipline in this regard is freedom of speech in public and private organizations. Current analyses of this topic (e.g., Sanders, 1981, 1983; Ewing, 1977, 1982) stress the freedom and constraints imposed by organizations on members abilities to make sense of the organization and act reconstructively on their culture.

Second, the present study has not focussed on individual values and norms. It may well be that an organizational culture is an amalgam of individual values, etc. If so, then to emphasize these values, as does Tichy (1982), and the power arrangements that create the impression of consensual values in an organization may well be critical to understanding social collectivities.

Third, future research should be more individually oriented, along with the macro- and meso-level approach represented here. For instance, our questionnaires did not allow for individuals to add their own descriptions of culture. We generated an "average" set of cultural constructs and limited subjects to those categories. One cannot help but suspect that much was missed with this strategy, just as some was gained.

Fourth, along the same line, future research should take a more dynamic view of organizations. In essence, we considered the organization as static. While this was inadvertent, we gathered primary data over a short period of time, and adverted our gaze from the possibility of change. For example, in relation to the difference in ideal and actual states reported by the three groups in each organization, we are unable to ascertain whether the differences are due to differing evaluations of those states along relatively stable dimensions, recalibrations of the meaning of those dimensions, or a new construction or reconstruction of what the relevant dimensions are. We suspect that one or more of the above was going on with the production group in Hi-Fli. In this regard, Golembiewski's, et. al. (1975) discussion of alpha, beta, and gamma change is instructive.

Fifth, the current study suggests a negative relationship between "tightness" of cultures and rule governed behavior. Shootem-Up had a tightly coherent view of ideal culture and high perceived behavior flexibility. Hi-Fli, on the other hand, had a less coherently defined ideal culture and low perceived behavioral flexibility. Individuals may attempt to compensate for an ill defined culture by specifying behavioral rules. This culture-rule relationship may add a new dimension of meaning for uncertainty reduction research (e.g., Weick, 1979).

Finally, simulations provide an excellent opportunity to explore underlying relationships between culture and communication and to refine research techniques. The use of a simulation provided us with control over both the organizations studied and the acquisition of data. We feel the insight we gained are instructive and that parallel research should occur in both simulated and actual ongoing organizations.

We began this exploration with the notion in mind that intertwining traditional, quantitative, communication-as-mode approaches to organizational communication with communication-as-means to organizational culture would increase the richness, power, and eventual usefulness of organizational communication research. We believe there is efficacy in this approach, if not some usefulness. It is interesting to look at two organizations that are similar in satisfaction and commitment, and realize that the similarity may only be skin deep. There may be something else going on that has considerable import and meaning. If nothing else this kind of approach should catch us up short about what we in organizational communication may have taken-for-granted.

Finally, we close on a note struck by Bruce Gronbeck (1983, viii) that captures our purpose and struggle: " 'Cultural criticism' is a delightfully exciting and frustrating scholarly activity."

FOOTNOTES

[1]For example, note the recent conferences on interpretive approaches to organizational communication. Speech Communication Association/International Communication Association Conference on Interpretive Approaches to Organizational Communication, 1981; 1982.

[2]This simulation is a modified version of Hi-Fli Fireworks, a simulation described in the Instructor's Guide to Accompany Communicating and Organizing by Michael Pacanowsky with Richard V. Farace, Roger R. Monge, and Hamish M. Russell (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1977).

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QUESTIONNAIRE 1
COMMUNICATION

Please indicate the extent to which you communicated with each of the following individuals in your organization during the simulation.

After you indicate the extent to which you communicated with each individual, please estimate the percentage of time your communication involved production, spcoa;ozomg. amd ommpvatopm (new ways of doing production or organization).

	None									Great Deal	Produc-tion %	Social-iaing %	Innova-tion %
President	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
V. P. Supply	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
V. P. Personnel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
V. P. Production	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Manager Supply	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Manager Production	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Supervisor Supply	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Supervisor Delivery	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Worker Delivery	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Supervisor Group #1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Supervisor Group #2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Supervisor Group #3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____
Supervisor Group #4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	____	____	____

QUESTIONNAIRE 2
SATISFACTION AND COMMITMENT

Please indicate below the extent to which you are satisfied with each of the following.

	Dis-satisfied									Satisfied
1. Your Supervisor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Your Productivity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3. Your Organization's Productivity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4. Your Input into Organizational Decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5. Your Position in the Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Interaction with Co-workers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7. The Simulation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. Co-workers' contribution to your Organization's productivity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Please indicate below the extent to which you feel committed to each of the following:

	Low Commitment									High Commitment
9. Your Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10. Your Position in the Other Organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11. Your Work Group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12. High Productivity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

13. If we were to do this exercise again, to what extent would you want to belong to the same organization?

Very Unlikely									Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

14. If we were to do this exercise again, to what extent would you want to belong to the same work group?

Very Unlikely									Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

TABLE 1

CONSTRUCTS COMPRISING ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE

HI-FLI

CONSTRUCTS	$\bar{X}$ Rating of Importance	Number of Members Mentioning
Organized --- Unorganized	7.4	8
Productive --- Unproductive	7.9	7
Motivated --- Unmotivated	7.8	8
Seeks Organization Goals --- Seeks Personal Goals	7.8	8
Good Communication --- Poor Communication	8.9	7
Fun/Exciting/Happy --- Not Fun/ Boring/Unhappy	7.0	7

TABLE 2

CONSTRUCTS COMPRISING ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE

SHOOTEM-UP

CONSTRUCTS	$\bar{X}$ Rating of Importance	Number of Members Mentioning
Organized --- Unorganized	7.2	7
Productive --- Unproductive	8.1	8
Desire to Win --- Could Care Less	7.9	7
Loyal/Cohesive --- Disloyal/ Non-Cohesive	8.3	7
Efficient --- Inefficient	8.1	7
Honest --- Dishonest	7.7	10

TABLE 3

MEMBERS COORIENTATION ON SIX CONSTRUCTS
THAT DEFINE THE ORGANIZATION

HI-FLI

CONSTRUCTS	WHAT MEMBERS THINK OTHERS BELIEVE		WHAT MEMBERS THEMSELVES BELIEVE	
	Ideal State	Actual State	Ideal State	Actual State
Organized --- Unorganized	7.7a	5.2b	7.9a	4.9b
Productive --- Unproductive	8.5a	5.5b	8.5a	5.8b
Motivated --- Unmotivated	8.1a	5.6b	8.2a	5.2b
Seeks Organization Goals --- Seeks Personal Goals	7.0ab	6.2b	7.8a	6.6b
Good Communication --- Poor Communication	8.0a	5.2b	8.2a	4.9b
Fun/Exciting/Happy --- Not Fun/Boring/Unhappy	7.2a	4.8b	7.5a	5.3b

TABLE 4

MEMBERS COORIENTATION ON SIX CONSTRUCTS
THAT DEFINE THE ORGANIZATION

SHOOTEM-UP

CONSTRUCTS	WHAT MEMBERS THINK OTHERS BELIEVE		WHAT MEMBERS THEMSELVES BELIEVE	
	Ideal State	Actual State	Ideal State	Actual State
Organized --- Unorganized	7.7a	5.7a	8.2b	6.0a
Productive --- Unproductive	8.1ab	6.6c	8.6a	7.2bc
Desire to Win --- Could Care Less	8.6a	7.6b	8.5ab	7.7b
Loyal/Cohesive --- Disloyal/ Non-Cohesive	8.2ab	6.6c	8.4a	7.0bc
Efficient --- Inefficient	8.4a	6.3b	8.4a	6.2b
Honest --- Dishonest	7.7a	6.6b	8.3c	6.6ab

Means in the same row with different lowercase subscripts differ significantly at p .05 for the related measures t-test.

TABLE 5

COORDINATION: PERCENTAGES REPRESENTING MEMBERS' PERCEPTIONS OF LATITUDES OF ACCEPTABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIORS

HI-FLI

CONSTRUCTS	Scale Positions (9)	(8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Organized --- Unorganized									
Acceptable	100	100	62	46	23	18	8	0	0
Unacceptable	0	0	0	15	54	54	77	92	100
Residual	0	0	38	38	23	31	15	8	0
Productive --- Unproductive									
Acceptable	100	92	54	8	0	0	0	0	0
Unacceptable	0	8	23	62	77	85	92	92	100
Residual	0	0	23	30	23	15	8	8	0
Motivated --- Unmotivated									
Acceptable	100	100	77	54	15	8	8	8	8
Unacceptable	0	0	23	23	39	62	69	92	92
Residual	0	0	0	23	46	30	23	0	0
Seeks Organization Goals --- Seeks Personal Goals									
Acceptable	100	92	70	62	38	24	8	15	15
Unacceptable	0	8	15	15	24	38	61	70	85
Residual	0	0	15	23	38	38	31	15	0
Good Communication --- Poor Communication									
Acceptable	100	62	54	23	8	0	0	8	8
Unacceptable	0	23	46	46	61	61	85	84	92
Residual	0	15	0	31	31	39	15	8	0
Fun/Exciting/Happy --- Not Fun/Boring/ Unhappy									
Acceptable	85	92	77	38	15	0	15	15	15
Unacceptable	15	8	15	31	39	54	62	70	85
Residual	0	0	8	31	46	46	23	15	0

TABLE 6

COORDINATION: PERCENTAGES REPRESENTING MEMBERS' PERCEPTIONS OF LATITUDES OF ACCEPTABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE BEHAVIORS

SHOOTEM-UP

CONSTRUCTS	Scale Positions (9)	(8)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
Organized --- Unorganized									
Acceptable	92	75	50	25	25	8	17	0	0
Unacceptable	0	0	8	17	25	33	58	75	92
Residual	8	25	42	58	50	59	25	25	8
Productive --- Unproductive									
Acceptable	100	58	42	17	8	8	0	0	0
Unacceptable	0	17	25	50	50	58	83	83	92
Residual	0	25	33	33	42	34	17	17	8
Desire to Win --- Could Care Less									
Acceptable	92	75	50	34	17	25	16	0	0
Unacceptable	0	8	8	8	33	33	42	75	100
Residual	8	17	42	58	50	42	42	25	0
Loyal/Cohesive --- Disloyal/Non-Cohesive									
Acceptable	75	83	42	8	0	0	0	0	0
Unacceptable	0	0	8	25	50	58	58	75	83
Residual	25	17	50	67	50	42	42	25	17
Efficient --- Inefficient									
Acceptable	100	83	33	17	8	8	17	0	0
Unacceptable	0	0	25	17	42	42	58	83	92
Residual	0	17	42	66	50	50	25	17	8
Honest --- Dishonest									
Acceptable	92	67	58	42	25	25	8	8	0
Unacceptable	8	8	8	16	33	42	58	75	92
Residual	0	25	34	42	42	33	34	17	8

DAY 1	DAY 2	DAY 3	DAY 4
DISORGANIZED: 2(UM), 4(UM), 9(SD), 10(P) ALL TALKING AT ONCE: 9(SD) CORPORATION: 1(UM) UNKNOWN: 11(P) UNITED: 1(UM), 3(UM), 6(P), 12(SD)	UNITED TEAM: 11(P), 11(P) GOOD GUYS: 1(UM), 6(P) SMOOTH: 4(UM), 6(P), 7(SD), 10(P), 11(P) MESS: 5(SD) OUT TO SUCCEED: 9(SD) LEISURE TIME: 7(SD) BETTER COMMUNICATION: 11(P)	ZOO: 9(SD) NOT WORKING TO CAPABILITY: 4(UM) DOING AS WELL AS POSSIBLE: 10(P) BOSSY: 9(SD) BLAMING OTHERS: 7(SD) NOT COHESIVE: 13(P) COMPETITIVE: 13(P)	COMPETITIVE: 2(P) FAST: 5(SD), 9(SD) FRIENDLY: 4(UM) LIKE CLOCKWORK: 4(UM) UNINNOVATIVE: 13(P) "US--WE": 5(SD) LUCKY FOR NICE TREATMENT: 7(SD)

TABLE 7. TERMS USED TO DESCRIBE THE ORGANIZATION -- HI-FLI

Member ID Nos. followed by organizational location -- UM = Upper Management
SD = Supply & Delivery
P = Production

DAY 1	DAY 2	DAY 3	DAY 4
CONFUSION: 1(UM), 3(UM), 6(P) QUALITY WORKMANSHIP: 10(P), 12(P) IDLE WAITING: 1(UM) BIG BUSINESS: 11(P) NEED CLEAR JOB DESC.: 6(P) US: 13(P) TIME IS $: 10(P) PRODUCTION IS GOAL: 12(P) UPPER MAN. WANTS RESULTS: 6(P) WE ARE #1: 7(SD) SLOW: 1(UM) COMMUNICATION IS IMPORTANT: 2(UM) GIVES WORKERS LEEWAY: 1(UM)	WANT TO WIN: 6(P) CONFUSION: 4(UM), 5(SD), 9(SD) SMOOTH WORKING: 1(UM), 11(P) IMPROVING: 4(UM), 7(SD) TEAM EFFORT: 4(UM), 10(P) EACH DOING THEIR BEST: 6(P) FAST: 6(P) REAL LIFE BUSINESS: 10(P) NOBODY CARES AT FIRST: 4(UM) WILL LEARN(Win or Lose): 4(UM)	DOING OUR BEST: 2(UM), 6(P) SMOOTH & FAST: 4(UM), 5(SD), 9(SD) CONTENT: 1(UM) CARE ABOUT $ & PRODUCTION: 12(P) CARE ABOUT EMPLOYEES: 12(P) SLOW: 3(UM) DANGEROUS TO COMPETITION: 4(UM) WANT TO WIN: 12(P) Win ANYWAY WE CAN: 7(SD)	WINNERS -- #1: 1(UM), 4(UM), 5(SD), 6(P), 10(P), 12(P) GOOD TEM: 7(SD), 10(P) MOTIVATED: 4(UM) INSPIRATIONAL: 4(UM) LETHARGIC: 3(UM) SATISFIED: 6(P) OPERATING WELL: 2(UM)

TABLE 8. TERMS USED TO DESCRIBE THE ORGANIZATION -- SHOOTEM-UP

Member ID Nos. followed by organizational location -- UM = Upper Management
SD = SUPPLY & DELIVERY
P = PRODUCTION

	DAY 1	DAY 2	DAY 3	DAY 4
HI-FLI		Firework sub-units were compared to parts of the human body. One worker (P) said she was the "body," another said she was the "nose." Individuals said the woman building the main part had a "defective body." 2(UM), 6(P), 10(P), 11(P), 12(P), 13(P) Fantasizing about what they could do with the money if they won the competition. They ended by saying they could buy tinker toys and sell they to the Speech Department. 6(P), 10(P), 11(P), 12(P), 13(P)	The topic was what they could use the plastic part bags for. They discussed putting illegal substances in them, having a strike, and making a TV documentary with ABC called "NORML RAE" (National Organization of Reform of Marijuana Laws). 6(P), 10(P), 11(P), 12(P)	Made fun of the condition firework bodies were in. Their comments were then related to "her" body -- the thickness, thinness, and various sizes of the parts of "her" body. 6(P), 10(P), 11(P)
SHOOTEM-UP	They found some empty bottles of "booze" in the trash and joked about having to drink because of "pressures on the job." 5(SD), 6(P), 7(SD), 8(SD), 9(SD)			

TABLE 9. SUMMARY OF FANTASY EPISODES REPORTED BY MEMBERS OF EACH ORGANIZATION.
Summary followed by members (functional areas) reported participating.

TABLE 10

COMMUNICATION TYPE BY ORGANIZATION AND GROUP

		SHOOTEM-UP				HI-FLI			
		Total Org.	Upper Man.	S&D	Prod.	Total Org.	Upper Man.	S&D	Prod.
COMM TYPE	PRODUCTION	61%	50.3%	66.5%	62.9%	60.4%	64.9%	71.5%	47.9%
	SOCIAL	25.8%	29.5%	17%	30.6%	23.1%	22.7%	13.8%	30.8%
	INNOVATION	13.2%	20.2%	16.5%	6.5%	16.5%	12.4%	14.7%	21.3%
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 11

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION BY GROUP SHARE OF COMMUNICATION TYPE

		SHOOTEM-UP			HI-FLI		
		Production	Social	Innovation	Production	Social	Innovation
	Total Organization	61%	25.8%	13.2%	60.4%	23.1%	16.5%
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	Upper Management	20.6%	28.6%	38.1%	33.1%	30.2%	23.1%
	Supply & Delivery	36.4%	22%	41.5%	36.4%	18.3%	27.5%
	Production	43%	49.4%	20.4%	30.5%	51.5%	49.4%
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 12

MEAN RATINGS FOR SATISFACTION AND COMMITMENT

	Hi-Fli		Shootem-Up	
Satisfaction With	Means	SD	Means	SD
1. Your Supervisor	6.50	2.07	7.38	2.02
2. Your Productivity	7.25	1.71	7.00	1.63
3. Organization's Productivity	6.41	2.02	6.77	2.28
4. Input to Decisions	5.83	2.52	5.62	2.40
5. Positions in the Organization	7.00	2.59	6.84	2.67
6. Interaction	7.83	1.95	7.31	2.32
7. Simulation	5.17	1.53	6.46	2.63
8. Co-Workers' Contributions	7.25	1.87	8.00	1.63
Commitment To				
9. Your Organization	7.25	1.66	7.85	1.82
10. Your Position	7.27	1.49	7.62	2.10
11. Your Group	7.92	1.51	8.23	1.64
12. High Productivity	7.92	1.24	8.38	1.71
13. Join Same Organization	8.00	1.54	8.39	1.61
14. Join Same Group	7.42	1.93	7.15	2.08

	Hi-Fli Means			Shootem-Up Means		
Satisfaction With	Upper Man.	Prod.	Supply & Del.	Upper Man.	Prod.	Supply & Del.
1. Your Supervisor	7.00	6.60	6.00	6.75	7.80	7.50
2. Your Productivity	6.67	7.80	7.00	8.00	6.60	6.50
3. Your Organization's Productivity	4.67	6.80	7.25	8.00	6.00	6.50
4. Input to Decisions	7.33	6.20	4.25	7.75	4.60	4.75
5. Positions in the Organization	9.00	7.60	4.75	8.25	7.00	5.25
6. Interaction	8.00	8.40	7.00	8.50	7.40	6.00
7. Simulation	3.33	6.20	5.25	7.50	7.40	4.25
8. Co-Workers' Contribution	6.00	8.00	7.25	9.00	8.0C	7.00
Commitment To						
9. Your Organization	7.00	8.00	6.50	8.75	7.80	7.00
10. Your Position	8.30	7.00	6.75	8.25	8.40	6.00
11. Your Group	8.00	8.80	6.75	9.00	8.60	7.00
12. High Productivity	8.67	8.20	7.00	9.50	8.60	7.00
13. Join Same Organization	8.00	8.60	7.25	9.25	8.40	7.50
14. Join Same Group	7.33	7.40	7.50	7.75	7.6	6.00

FIGURE 1

CORRELOGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG COGNITIVE ELEMENTS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

SHOOTEM-UP

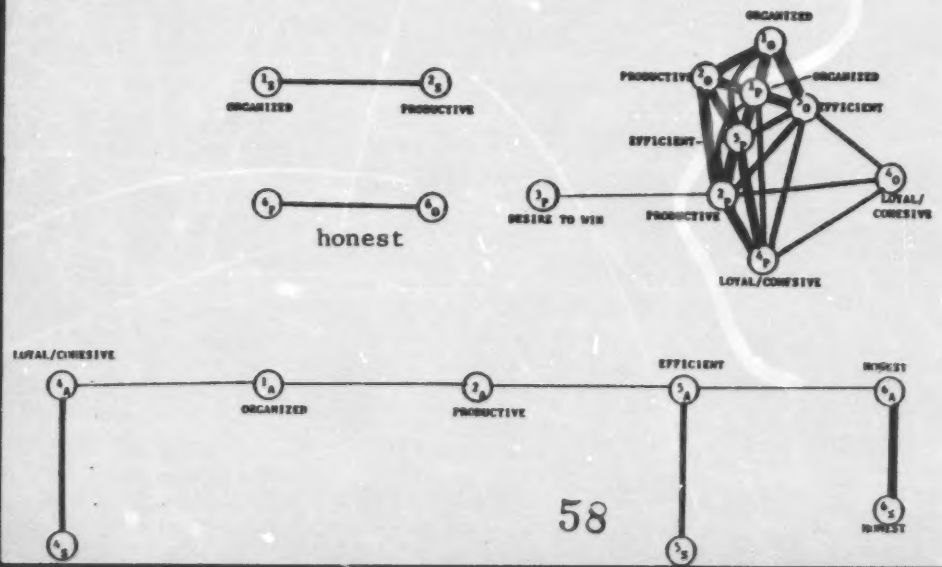
1 = Organized -- Unorganized
2 = Productive -- Unproductive
3 = Desire to Win -- Could Care Less
4 = Loyal/Cohesive -- Disloyal/Non-Cohesive
5 = Efficient --- Inefficient
6 = Honest -- Dishonest

HI-FLI

1 = Organized -- Unorganized
2 = Productive -- Unproductive
3 = Motivated -- Unmotivated
4 = Seeks Organization Goals -- Seeks Personal Goals
5 = Good Communication -- Poor Communication
6 = Fun/Exciting/Happy -- Not Fun/Boring/Unhappy

P = Personal Ideal State
O = Predicted Others' Ideal State
A = Personal Actual State
S = Predicted Others' Actual State

SHOOTEM - UP



= Correlation .90 - above
= Correlation .80 - .89
= Correlation .70 - .79
= Correlation .60 - .69
= Negative Correlation

A decision rule to include only correlations of .60 or above was used in this figure.

HI - FLI

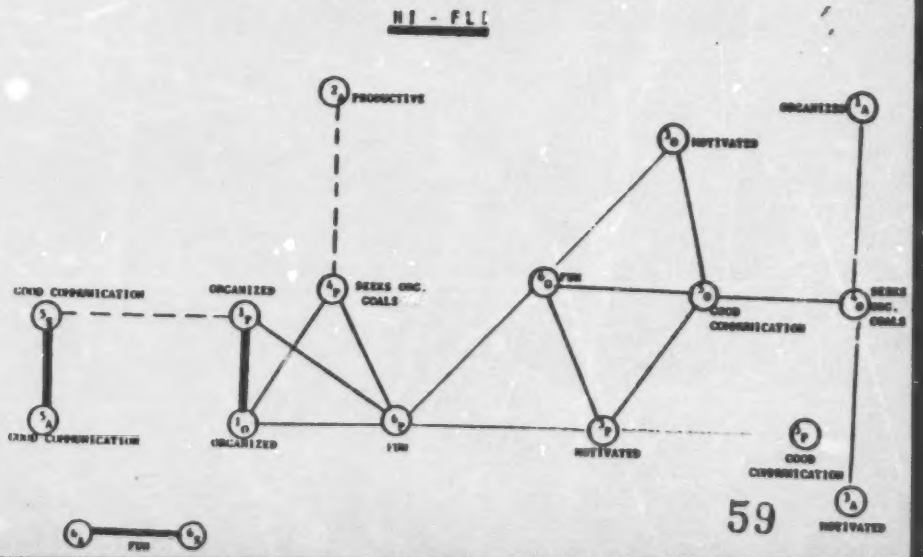


FIGURE 2

COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

(Total Communication)

Network Members

Upper Management

1=President
2=VP--Supply & Delivery
3=VP--Personnel
4=VP--Production

Production

6=Manager of Production
10=Production Worker
11=Production Worker
12=Production Worker
13=Production Worker

Supply and Delivery

5=Manager of Supply & Delivery
7=Supply & Delivery Worker
8=Supply and Delivery Worker
9=Supply and Delivery Worker

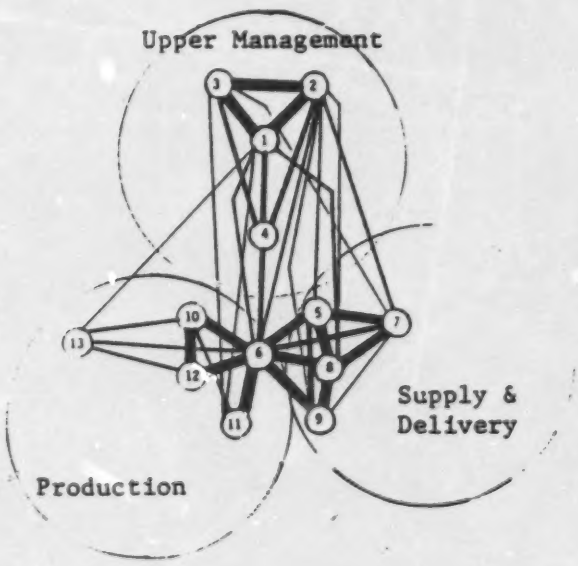
Total Communication =

sum of frequency of contact reported by both members of a dyad

Maximum = 20/ Minimum = 0

= 18-20
= 15-17
= 12-14
= 9-11

SHOOTEM-UP



HI-FLI

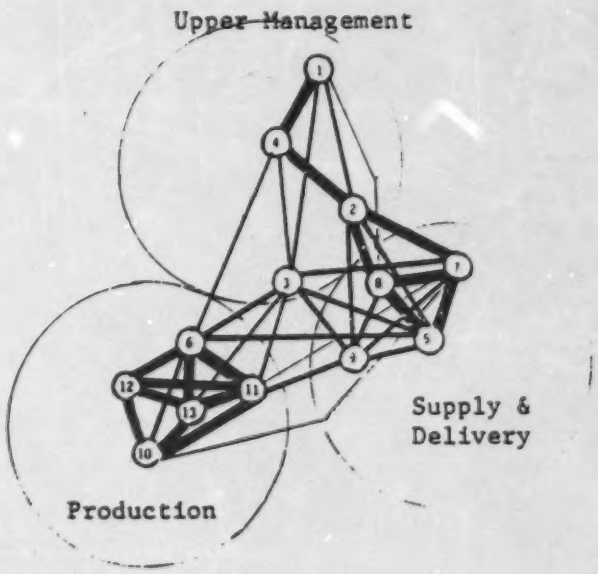


FIGURE 3

COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

(Social Communication)

Network Members

Upper Management

1=President
2=VP--Supply & Delivery
3=VP--Personnel
4=VP--Production

Production

6=Manager of Production
10=Production Worker
11=Production Worker
12=Production Worker
13=Production Worker

Supply and Delivery

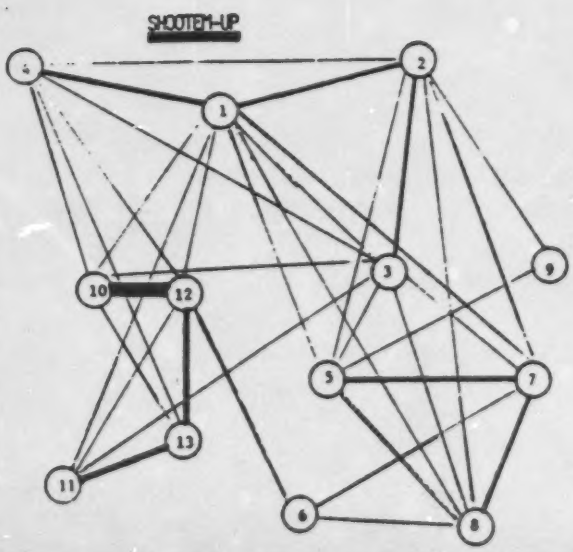
5=Manager of Supply & Delivery
7=S&D Worker
8=S&D Worker
9=S&D Worker

Social Communication =

sum of frequency of contact x percentage of time spent in social communication by both members of a dyad

Maximum =20/Minimum =0

= 11-13
= 8-10
= 5-7
= 2-4



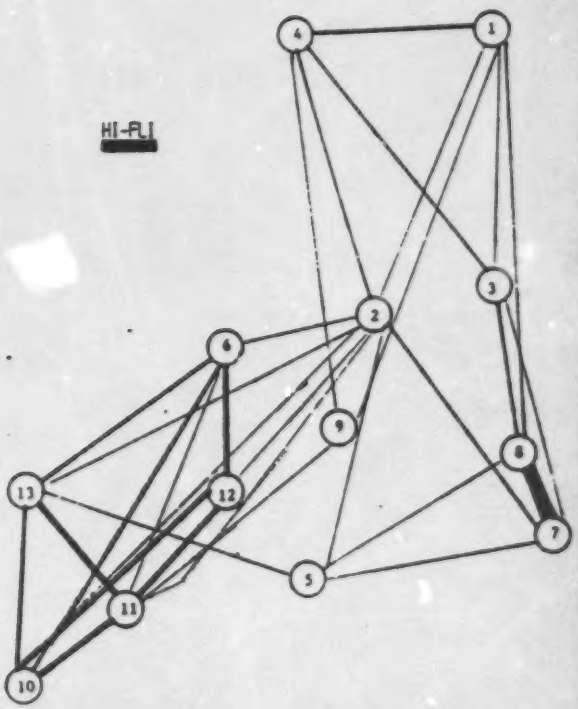
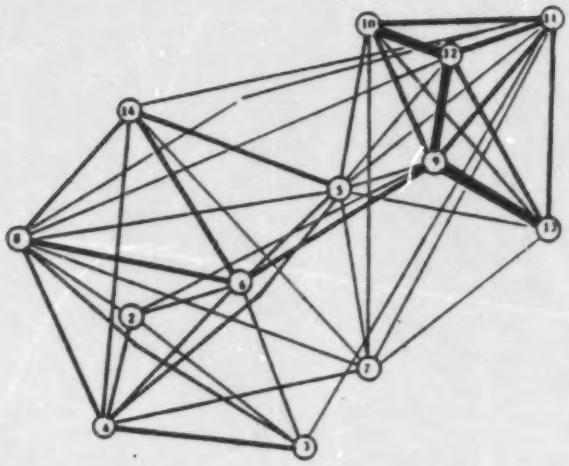


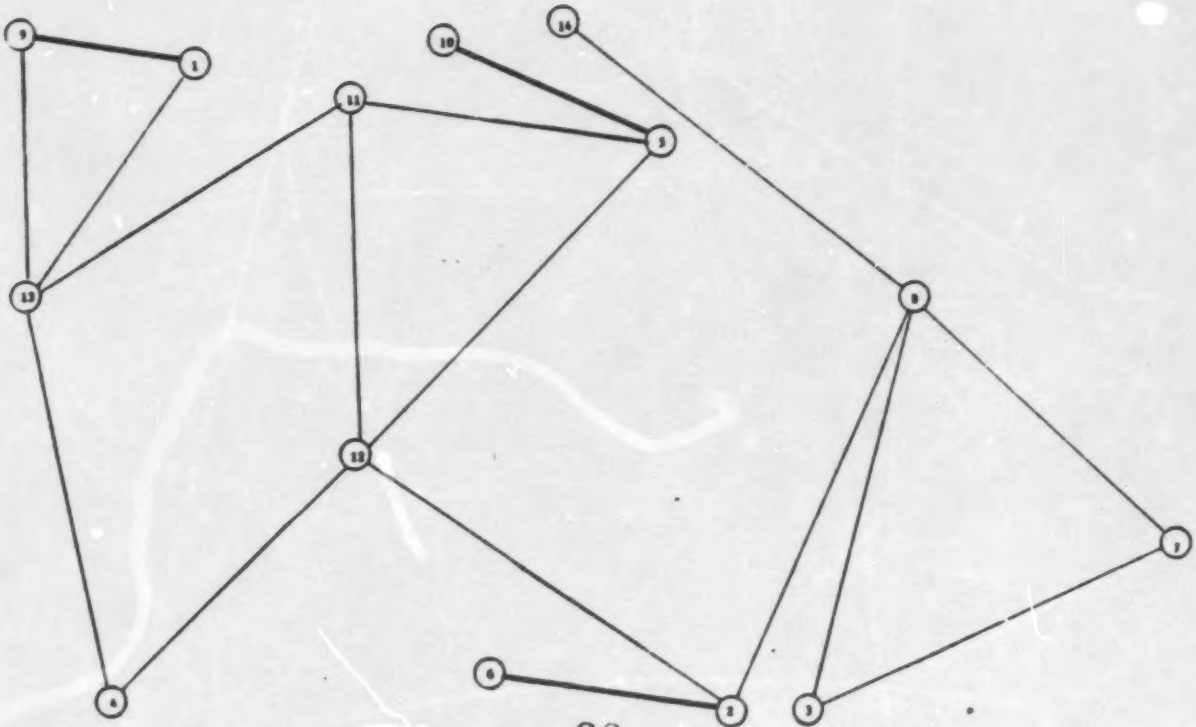
FIGURE 4

CORRELAGRAM SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG SATISFACTION AND COMMITMENT

SHOOTEM-UP



HI-FLI



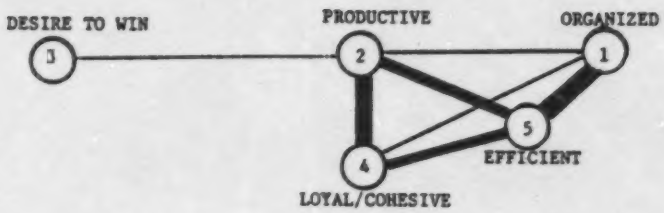
A decision rule to include only correlations of .60 and above was used in this figure.

▬▬ : r=.90 - .99 ▬▬ : r=.80 - .89 ▬▬ : r=.70 - .79 ▬▬ : r=.60 - ,69

FIGURE 5

CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERSONAL IDEAL CONCEPTS FOR SHOOTEM-UP

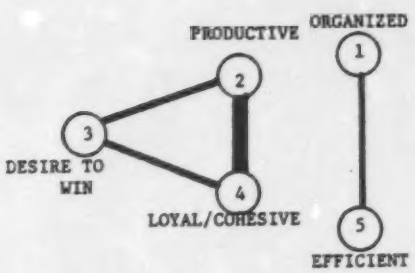
TOTAL ORGANIZATION



UPPER MANAGEMENT

Upper Management data unable to be reliably displayed. Missing data on 2 of 4 members.

PRODUCTION



SUPPLY & DELIVERY

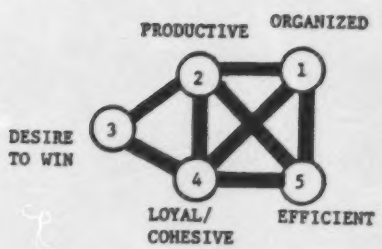
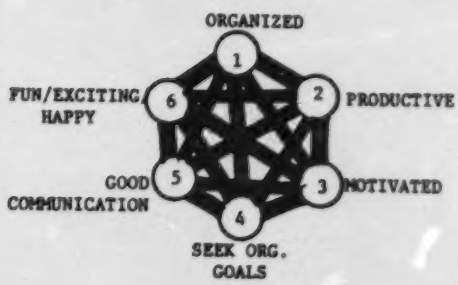


FIGURE 6

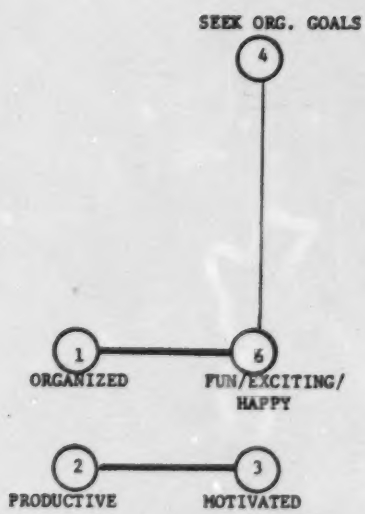
CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERSONAL IDEAL CONCEPTS FOR HI-FLI

TOTAL ORGANIZATION

UPPER MANAGEMENT



PRODUCTION



SUPPLY & DELIVERY

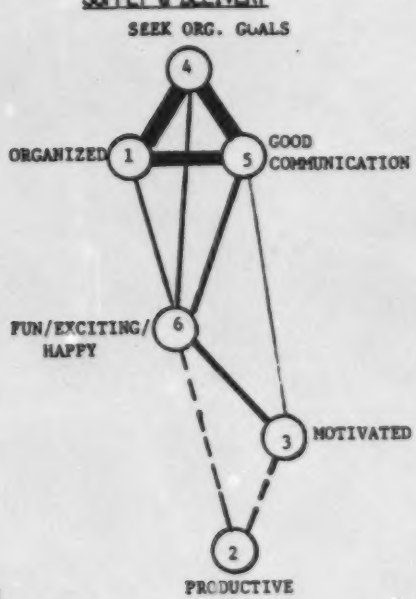
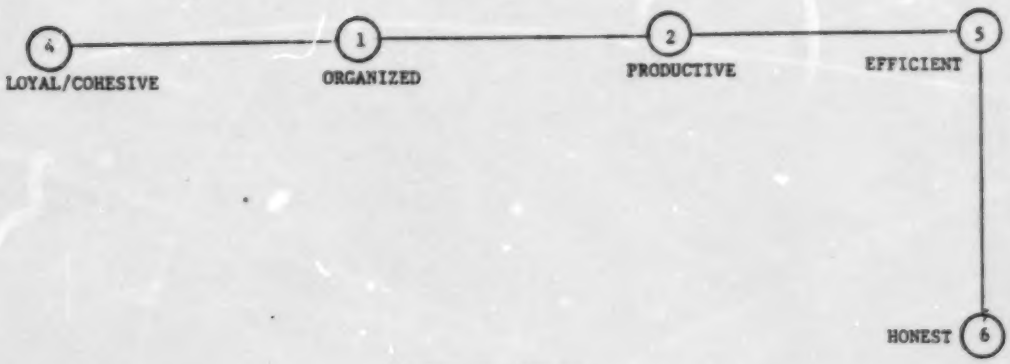


FIGURE 7

CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERSONAL ACTUAL CONCEPTS FOR SHOOETEM-UP

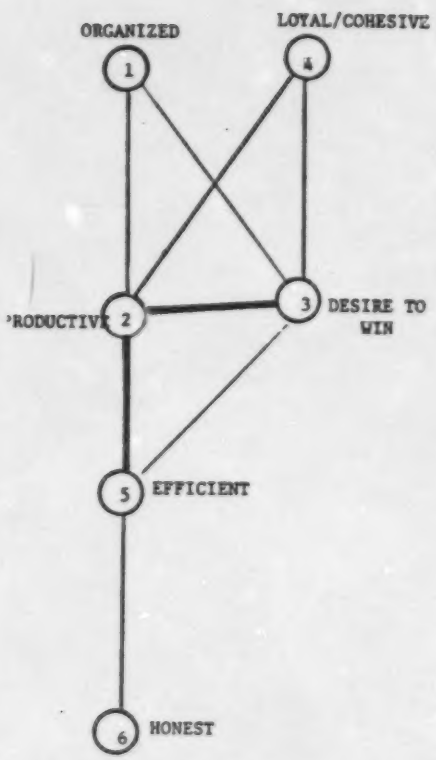
TOTAL ORGANIZATION



UPPER MANAGEMENT

Upper Management data unable to be reliably displayed. Missing data on 2 of 4 members.

PRODUCTION



SUPPLY & DELIVERY

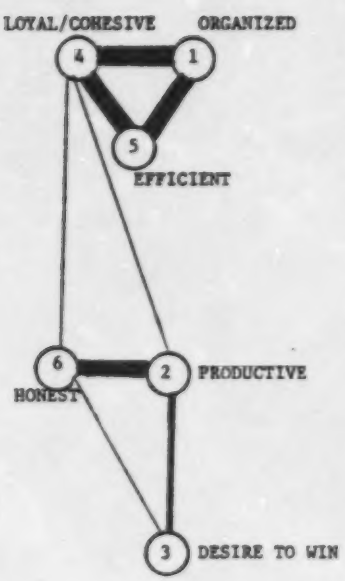
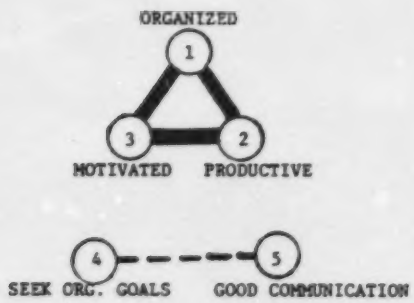


FIGURE 8

CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERSONAL ACTUAL CONCEPTS FOR HI-FLI

TOTAL ORGANIZATION

No correlation +.6 and above or -.6 and below reported.



UPPER MANAGEMENT

PRODUCTION

SUPPLY & DELIVERY

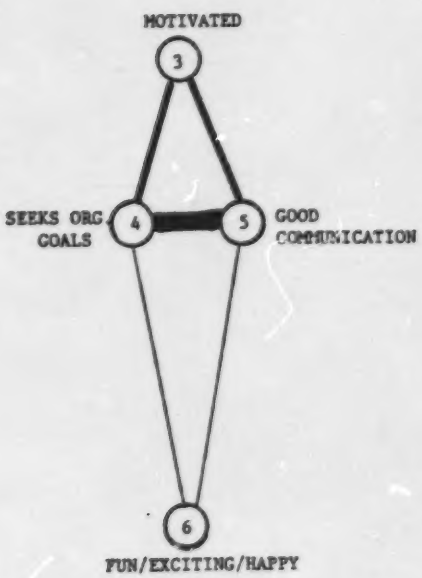
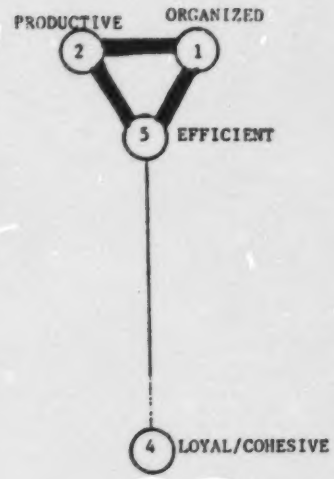


FIGURE 9

CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERCEPTIONS OF OTHERS' IDEAL CONCEPTS FOR SHOOETEM-UP

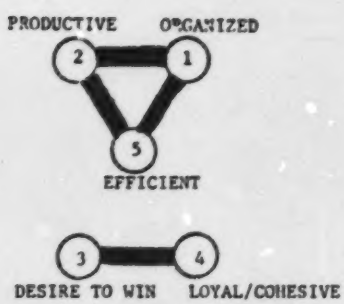
TOTAL ORGANIZATION



UPPER MANAGEMENT

Upper Management data unable to be reliably displayed. Missing data on 2 of 4 members.

PRODUCTION



SUPPLY & DELIVERY

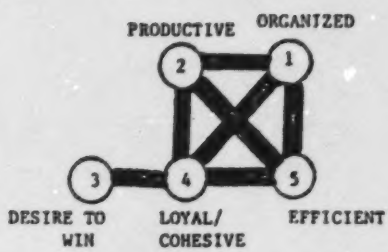


FIGURE 10

CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERCEPTIONS OF OTHERS' IDEAL CONCEPTS FOR HI-FLI

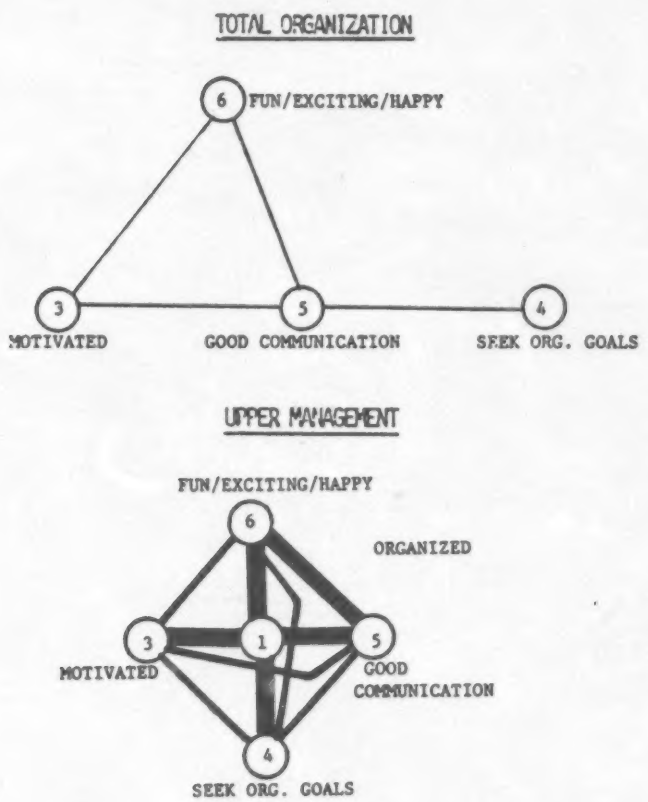


FIGURE 11

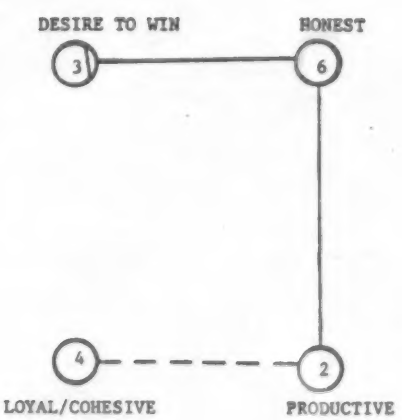
CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERCEPTIONS OF OTHERS' ACTUAL CONCEPTS FOR SHOOTEM-UP

TOTAL ORGANIZATION

UPPER MANAGEMENT

Upper Management data unable to be reliably displayed. Missing data on 2 of 4 members.

PRODUCTION



SUPPLY & DELIVERY

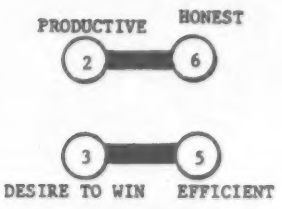


FIGURE 12

CORRELOGRAMS SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG PERCEPTIONS OF OTHERS' ACTUAL CONCEPTS FOR HI-FLI

TOTAL ORGANIZATION

No correlation +.6 and above or -.6 and below reported.